1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Some years ago this body conceived the idea of educating at their central station at Freretown, near Mombasa, a few of the most promising of their up-country converts. When sufficiently advanced, these boys or men are sent back to their homes and become teachers of the Gospel. Thus, one Ol-omeni[1], a member of the Oikop or Lumbwa Masai, who had spent some years under the able tuition of the Rev. A. R. Steggall at Taveta, was baptized under the name of Justin, and completed his education at the coast. He is now one of the principal supports of the Society in Southern Masailand. To the kindness of the Society in lending me Justin Ol-omeni's services, and to the diligence of Justin Ol-omeni himself, I am in a large measure indebted for the material contained in this book. Philologists will possibly be interested to hear that there exist Masai (and possibly members of other tribes whose language has ever been a closed book) who are able to correspond with one another in their mother tongue. I have in my possession, for instance, several letters written in Masai.

As a well-wisher of the Masai and one who has known them for a decade, I consider that every support should be given to the Church Missionary Society and to the other Missions engaged in proselytizing in their midst, for it is only by the gradual and peaceful civilization of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. The encroachments of civilization are beginning to be felt in East Africa; and the famous Rift Valley and the high plateaux where the fierce, bloodthirsty Masai once reigned supreme, are now becoming colonized by the white settler. It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, alters his habits or ceases to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.

A. C. HOLLIS.

NAIROBI,
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE,
May, 1904.

[1] Ol-omeni means He who is despised. When this name was given him, he was a small, sickly child, and not expected to live.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

193*

SUBSTANTIVES

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoñga	Ol-ojoñgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoñga	Eng-ojoñgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-tili	The spark, stain.
In-garara	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporo	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-guruon	En-guruoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoñgo	Ol-kidoñgoi	The tail.
Il-kililesig	Ol-kililesigi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-menesiga	Ol-menesigani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mōsor	E-mōsori	The egg [2].
I-ñgok	E-ñgoki	The sin [3].
Il-ōkidoñgo	Ol-ōkidoñgoi	The mud.
Il-paek	Ol-paeki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-pisya	Ol-pisyai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghenge	E-seghengei	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tuduta	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasae	Ol-Maasani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European [5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	

[552]

[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister. [845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mōsori, pl. Il-mōsorin. [415]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ñgoki, pl. I-ñgokin.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Maa (sing. Ol-Mái), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called 'Sae or 'Saen (sing. O-Saeni). [101] [177]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ōjuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Ailungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in its turn gave way to the present forms. [186]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni nalañg im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-tuñgani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgirie 'sirkon en-daa.'

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn sii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oreshetа, nepal kulikae.

[574] Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana nōuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eîu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baris, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gerai 'l-ala coñgwan, le-keper aare o li-abore aare.

Nēji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302

The hair of the head is called the mane.

Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neiñgasyai. Nenotari sii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyōuni neishiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-omom, nējo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 201

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Aahumba opa, neisikaa, nējo: 'Eñgu 'l-Orida[2] anaa 'l-lukunguni.' Nemeiyōu senyikaki áisēye.

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

Ten edol ol-Maasani en-gerai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Tubulu, tamoo 'ng-onyek o-'l-orere.'

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 789 [856]

Naa, ten edol en-gerai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake ējo to-'l-tau lenye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; amu ēji, ten ējōki ol-tuñgani en-gerai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nemweiyu.

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]

[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nējōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Ai.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nējo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

514 789 [551] [963] Ore sii ten erikīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho, eng-Ai, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etējo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Nēji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nējōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Nēji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

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The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ōnana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

[Facing p. 386]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai—Why this peculiar policy is necessary—The tribal formation of the Masai—Social system of the pastoral section—"*L-Ayok*"—"Muran"—The effect of the military organization—The medicine-men—The Laibon—The Masai as a stockman—Employment of the Muran—Masai conservatism respecting cattle—Councils of Elders—Crime in the Masai Reserve—Divisions—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Loita—L'Otayok—Salei—Siria—Il Damat—Kakonyukye—L'Odo Kilani—Nguruman—Matapatu—Sighirari of the Engidongi—Il Dala Lekutuk—Kaputiei—Sighirari of Laitokitok—Wandorobo—Il-Kunono—Recapitulation.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai.

WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to recapitulate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. These policies, established and maintained for the most part by the senior administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is noticed in the majority of the native administered areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Province into useful agricultural labourers fit for residential work on European farms and available for duty on works of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognised by each tribe, produced within the reserves, a type of native so well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that compulsion had to be resorted to and that the work was unpopular, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the porters so recruited were obtained by the native authorities themselves without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the first tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their subservience to antiquated tribal custom and tradition has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet materially to alter and renovate their ideas.

Why this peculiar policy is necessary.

The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Nandi and Lumbwa and to the Suk and Turkana. In common with those other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a warrior class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Suk or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the Administration, and a comparison with the Nandi and Lumbwa, Buret and Sotik, discloses a position markedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though none of these former tribes has definitely

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Ngurumai, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section.

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Social system of the pastoral section.
"L-Ayok."
"Muran."

According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirits," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

181 464 561 Employment of the "Muran."

More particularly does this argument apply to the "Muran" who are of the ages at which the members of agricultural tribes are expected to work. No suitable employment has as yet been found for them as a body, though a small number have been known to reside as herds on the farms of sympathetic European stock-owners who are willing to pay a high wage for a modicum of service and who will not insist on their performance of any uncongenial labour. A very few also have proved efficient in the Police Force and K.A.R., while numbers of them, employed in the capacity of native levies have frequently proved of assistance in punitive expeditions against other tribes,* but for the majority, all attempts to find a suitable form of employment have failed, and they continue to lead their idle life in the Reserve, where their attitude is one of conceited conservatism combined with opulent apathy. The discipline formerly necessary to their existance as a fighting race is rapidly falling into disuse, and the good qualities they once possessed are fast deteriorating. Many of them have confessed to a feeling of boredom with their idle life but few have had the moral courage to change it for one of labour. This manner of existance is having a disastrous effect both physically and mentally on the Masai as a tribe, and it is stated that the average height of the "Muran" has decreased by three or four inches during the last fifteen years.

181 232 233 197 Masai conservatism respecting cattle.

It has been said that the Masai Reserve is already, with certain reservations, stocked to its fullest capacity. Mr. Hemsted has estimated the natural increase in cattle at 15 per cent. or approximately 100,000 per head per annum. It follows therefore, that a similar number must be disposed of or perish annually; but this is an argument which does not appeal to the Masai. They have not only shown a marked reluctance to sell their stock, but they have made no serious attempt to accept the assistance of science in improving the grazing conditions of their country, and, being satisfied as a result of the few experiments they have made that the class of stock they possess—a small, degenerate, in-bred animal—is best suited to withstand the arduous conditions prevailing in the Reserve, they are unwilling to permit a cross-breeding with pure-bred or grade stock which might materially increase the value of their herds in the world's markets, and which would, by the introduction of fresh blood, obviate the ill-effects of in-breeding which has been rendered necessary by the cessation of raids. The wealth of the Masai, therefore, is turned to no good purpose; their style of living does not change; they are still content to live in low buildings constructed of poles, grass and mud, in conditions of filth that defy description; and, although an improvement has been noticeable in recent years, they have shown no great desire to utilize their wealth in the purchase of imported articles and in the improvement of their diet.

623 561 Councils of Elders.

Another aspect of the character of the Masai "Muran" which deserves consideration is the disregard which they evince for the authority of their own native administration as represented by the Councils of Elders. These Councils exist according to native custom, but have never been in the past, nor are they now, efficient to enforce the decisions they may give in respect of the young warriors. It may be said that serious crime in the Masai Reserve is rare, and that there are not more than three or four cases on record, since European administration was established, when the attitude of the "Muran" gave cause for anxiety and in no one of these cases did a disturbance of such magnitude occur as to render necessary a recourse to armed force to quell it. Politically, the Masai have remained loyal to the British Government since they first encountered it, and except for isolated instances where certain sections attempted to help the allied cause and to increase their herds by the despatch of raiding expeditions against German territory, their conduct throughout the trying period when the war in East Africa was on their borders was exemplary. Nevertheless, a catalogue of the misdeeds of the Masai will show a not inconsiderable number of instances

[674] Crime in the Masai Reserve.

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* The Masai have rendered assistance in the capacity of native levies on the following occasions:—

(1) Nandi Expedition, 1899. 40 Muran.
(2) Nandi Expedition, 1900. 400 Muran.
(3) Maruka Patrol, 1902. 300 Muran.
(4) Tetu Operations, 1902-03. 300 Muran.
(5) Irisai Patrol. 400 Muran.
(6) Kabwaren Patrol, 1904. 100 Masai and Nandi.
(7) Sotik Expedition, 1905. 400 Muran.
(8) Kisii Patrol, 1905.
(9) Nandi Expedition, 1905-06. 600 Muran.
(10) Present Turkana operations.

Reports on the work of these levies have on the whole been highly satisfactory, except in the present Turkana operations where it is doubtful if the pastoral Masai have been used, and in the Kabwaren patrol, where it was found that the Masai spearmen were of little use against the Nandi in forest country.

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njemps, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

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Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

Heart water. It is possible that much of the mortality attributed to East Coast fever is really the result of a disease known as heart water, which is described as a tick-borne disease, very similar to East Coast fever. There is as yet no evidence to support this idea.

Dipping. East Coast fever appears to be the only cattle disease which the Masai really fear, and is, in fact, the disease which causes by far the highest mortality among their herds. Nevertheless, they have not come forward very readily to make use of the cattle dip which was erected at Ngong in 1914, and it is evident that, in addition to the superstition which prevents them from taking advantage of such an innovation, they are also too slack and listless to go to the trouble of making the treatment a matter of regular routine. In time, however, it is to be hoped that they will come to appreciate more fully the immunity which dipping confers upon their stock, and, when this realization has been arrived at, it will follow that large tracts of otherwise suitable grazing areas will become available within their reserve for them and their stock, thus tending to relieve the congestion which is now noticeable in those parts of the reserve which are considered by the Masai to be suitable for their cattle.

(E) Foot and Mouth Disease.

Foot and mouth disease has not given serious cause for anxiety in the Masai Reserve. An outbreak was reported in June, 1917; and in February, 1918, it was said to be very prevalent in the majority of the villages situated in the Narok and Mara districts. Accordingly, in that month, the Chief Veterinary Officer prohibited the removal of sheep from the reserve.

The direct mortality from this disease is slight, but it very seriously affects the milk supply, and indirectly it causes a certain amount of loss, as infected animals, being in a weak state, are unable to move about sufficiently to obtain the necessary and adequate grazing, and, as a consequence, they may die of starvation.

The disease was reported in May, 1918, to have practically died out.

(F) Rinderpest.

Rinderpest has been enzootic in the Masai Reserve for many years and the majority of adult Masai cattle are immune. It was rife in the Northern Masai Reserve from 1910 until the completion of the move in 1913, and several outbreaks in both the Northern and Southern Reserves were reported between November, 1912, and January, 1913.

Anti-rinderpest inoculation was carried out where practicable and a large number of Masai cattle were thereby protected, with the result that the mortality was very low.

For the next five years rinderpest lay more or less dormant, but it became unusually prevalent early in 1918, and heavy mortality ensued among the calves, of which it was estimated that about fifty per cent. of the annual increase succumbed.

The Masai have proved to be opposed to the treatment of their cattle by inoculation against rinderpest, as they prefer that immunity shall be obtained by the natural process of the survival of the fittest.

(G) Tsetse Fly.

Tours by the Director of Agriculture. During the tour undertaken in October, 1911, by the Director of Agriculture, accompanied by Messrs. Hill and Chaplin, the Director of Public Works and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo, no signs of tsetse fly were seen along the route traversed, and the cattle met with did not appear to be troubled by the ordinary biting fly. On a previous visit the Director of Agriculture had noticed a number of "Stymoxys," and he stated that this fly was fairly common all over the Protectorate, but that so far as was known it did not carry any cattle disease.

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essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realisable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

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Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Somali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

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Future of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

695 the forcible execution of decrees for the custody of women and children in a manner repugnant to the principles of humanity.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE VALUE OF THE SYSTEM NOW IN FORCE

000 Looking at the system of native administration in Masailand as a whole, those who are now most closely concerned with it regard the position as far from satisfactory. Consideration has lately been given to a number of changes in detail. It has been proposed that there should be a Masai Council at Ngong, consisting of the 20 members selected from the two Local Native Councils, which would deal with all questions affecting the whole of the Masai, leaving the two Local Native Councils to deal with purely local questions, such as applications for trading plots or the expenditure of local Treasury funds. This would no doubt be a simplification of the present procedure, but it will be realized that the existing method of constituting the Local Native Councils, while designed to secure a representation of the tribesmen in general, has the effect of excluding the Headmen who carry most weight with them.

A scheme has also been considered for making a more definite delimitation of the Section boundaries, in order to enable the formation of Committees of Control over grazing, and to assist the introduction of a system of destocking. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which the soil in the Masai Reserve actually suffers from deterioration owing to overgrazing, for as has been pointed out, the facts are complicated by the existence of the great quantity of game in the Reserve.[1] There is no doubt, however, that the scheme referred to would be of benefit both from the administrative and the economic point of view, though its success must depend on measures to be taken for the improvement of water supplies, without which the delimitation of Section boundaries would be ineffective.

● 197 But the causes which have produced the present situation in Masailand are deep-seated, and a remedy cannot be found merely in changes in the present system of native administration. The chief obstacle to progress among the Masai is the persistence with which this conservative people have clung to customs and habits of life founded on the militant traditions of the past. Some effort has been directed to effecting changes in their custom, in particular as regards the position of the Moran. At the instance of the first Provincial [656] Commissioner (1911-1923) the tribe was forbidden to continue the warrior manyattas and the cohabitation of Moran with unmarried girls was also interdicted. More recently, a meeting of the Chiefs and Elders held at Ngong in 1947 agreed in principle that the period determining service as a Moran should be reduced to three years, and there is a further project for establishing Moran camps, which it is hoped may serve as an education in a more useful form of life.

000 It perhaps adds to the difficulty of effecting an improvement in the condition of the Masai that the problem has been viewed from two different standpoints by Europeans in Kenya. There are some, both officials and non-officials, to whom certain aspects of the Masai character have always made a strong appeal. They have in particular been attracted by the courage, frankness, and loyal sense of comradeship shown by the Morans. On the other

[1] See page 10 of the Report on the Financial Position and System of Taxation of Kenya, Col. No. 116, 1936.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisonko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case to-day. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Kutata (24) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Letinga (25) and Balosi (28) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutata.

The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will assure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kissongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, 'to be on the safe side'. One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the *laiguenak* and *ingobir*, are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the *il piron* elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small; on the

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 361 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough. [302]

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows :— 561 574 292

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men comes to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Ol Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 463 ff.) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Belching after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

Ol-Ng'esher of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pigtail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Salasak* have already performed their milk *Ol-Ng'esher*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation. 561 [372] [302] [148] [199]

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *Ol-Ng'esher* ceremony, called the *Ol-Ng'esher of meat*. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Merutarut and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *Ol-Ng'esher* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony. [240]

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a heifer.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 991

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (*see* Hollis, p. 336) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingoi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [989]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 954 [999]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai mikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 991 996

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 989

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injishi o emon ol ondo nanisho ol dowp*"—"Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(b) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

18: Merker--x G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Munich.

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The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Merker, causing a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Masai so remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Masai people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Merker himself was unshakably convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Masai were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also serves again as the basis for strong scruples.

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First of all, mystification on the part of Merker, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Masai of his region that he gained the confidence of those old Masai men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Masai expert, our Bavarian compatriot Deeg, and furthermore African experts such as Schillings and Dr. Sander, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whose efforts the warlike and proud Masai have been very intractable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English Masai-missionary Albert R. Steggall, who was active there 1889-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 429, that
[115] Mr. A. C. Hollis, this eminent authority on the Masai living in British East Africa, related to him from a Masai boy in his service, "that the Masai from whom Captain Merker got much of his information was for some years, during the Masai famine, connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under instruction

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114 177 773 797 [115] in the Church Missionary Society's station in Taveta" /cited in English/, this, as Merker himself told me, can only refer to a Masai man from whom he received other information: since for the many investigations on /xiv/ which his ethnological work is based (habits, customs, names, etc. etc.), he had quite different informants, of course. And Hollis' objection (1)

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> 1. Personal communication from the researcher, highly esteemed by me, whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted with in September, 1908, in Oxford (at the Kongress für Religionsgeschichte /Congress on the History of Religion/), just as I was also able to become personally acquainted with the deceased Merker in 1907, after I had previously corresponded with him, which was extremely valuable to me in view of the so highly controversial Masai problem.

that he (Hollis), who was also acquainted with the Masai of his region for many years, would then also have had to come across the traces of such early history is only an argumentum e silentio. Either the more southerly Masai (in German East Africa), with whom Merker worked, were more faithful guardians of those ancient treasures, which is not impossible, or Merker also had more luck in gaining their confidence on this point than Hollis, who, just there, did not come across the right people. Merker, however, indeed also expressly states in the foreword to the first edition that it was not until the fifth year after the beginning of his work that he came across those traditions from ancient times, which by no means commonly cross people's lips, but are handed down only in particular families and there are only ever to be found among a few old men. And then it took another year and a half before Merker had completely learned what is set down in his fourth chapter. Moreover, even according to Hollis (cf. also C. Eliot's introduction to A. C. Hollis, The Masai, their language and folklore, p. xix), the monotheism of the Masai

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773 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing
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1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigiriéchi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 I conclude these considerations with the certain expecta-
773 tion that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more
[174] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early
[177] times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

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105 /9 cont./ dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbua and El muli, admission into their community.

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101 In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
184 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live
177 in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Asá, El asiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M
648 The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified

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[181] the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyze why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of

000 individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 721 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruthlessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which
• [177] is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
144 177 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 177 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

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Emil Müller phot.

Ill. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

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114 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship between the three branches, others claim to have observed such great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

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nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields, with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

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The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

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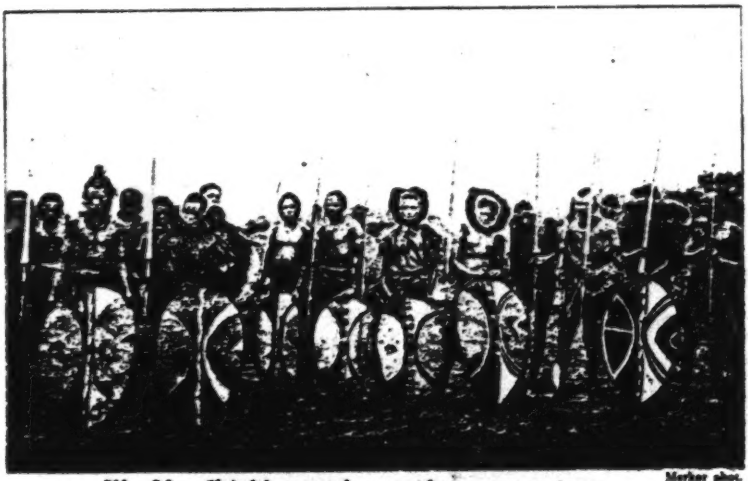

Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

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As a servant of Europeans the Masai in general shows the same moral quality as the members of other tribes from the interior of East Africa (1).

1. I became acquainted with youths of ten different tribes of the interior. They are all quite considerably better, though also more inept in the beginning, than the brazen-impudent, conceited, and thievish nigger-dandy of the coast.

There is just as little domestic-servant faithfulness and dependability as there is constancy and gratitude for benefits enjoyed. An opportunity to rob the master is happily utilized; in the kitchen, meat, milk, and butter especially disappear. In the pasture the Masai herdsman draws off milk from the cows and blood from the oxen and sucks fat from the tails of sheep. One time the herdsman came home from the pasture in the evening, quite out of breath, and lamented that an elephant coming in the vicinity of the herd had scattered the cattle by its bellowing. In spite of a diligent search, two head of cattle were supposedly lost because of it -- two cows, of course! This was indeed very annoying, but was not to be altered, and I contented myself /118/ with ordering the herdsman to stay closer to the station with the herd. About eight days later the same incident -- ostensibly -- happened, and again it was two of the best cows. If that had gone on, we would have been rid of the entire herd in a few months. The warning had been useless, so the shepard was given a sound thrashing. And behold! From then on not only did the elephants remain away from the herd permanently, but even the cattle that had last disappeared showed up again. He had stolen them and given them to a friend for safe-keeping. Another case. A settler had a herd of fine select live-stock about two hours from the farm in a secure palisade-kraal and in the care of a number of Masai in his service. A mark had been scratched into the hide of the cattle. One day the herdsmen brought a number of cows to the farm with the observation that the mark had grown over and would have to be cut again. The owner did

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177 181 609 466 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had examined them more closely, he would also have found that they had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unsuspectingly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Masai and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, there run into the herd of the European, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

177 181 464 609 [454] When the Masai servant who regularly invested his savings in cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

177 181 609 829 The Masai living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with through the years. He regards the latter's honesty and forbearance as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does this with the Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /119/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a monentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Masai does not do anything like

/119 cont./

177 that" (1).
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1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mēgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

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2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European inpresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kononi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai
181 in intercourse with his own kind. Dobirá eń gutok sidai el masai = make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/120 cont./ If they
181 spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but
[567] solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised el mɛg as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/127 cont./

411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The [439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but [177] are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure, chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose black- [177] smiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. Müller phot.

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/128 cont./ sometimes alien types, which, however, only in exceptional cases do not closely lean on the general Masai shape. The essential difference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section (Fig. 28) in /129/ the blade prepared by the Masai smiths stand obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Negroes, at right angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end of the blade among the long, narrow forms (Fig. 29), which among the former spears is more heart-shaped (a) or also spoon-shaped (b).

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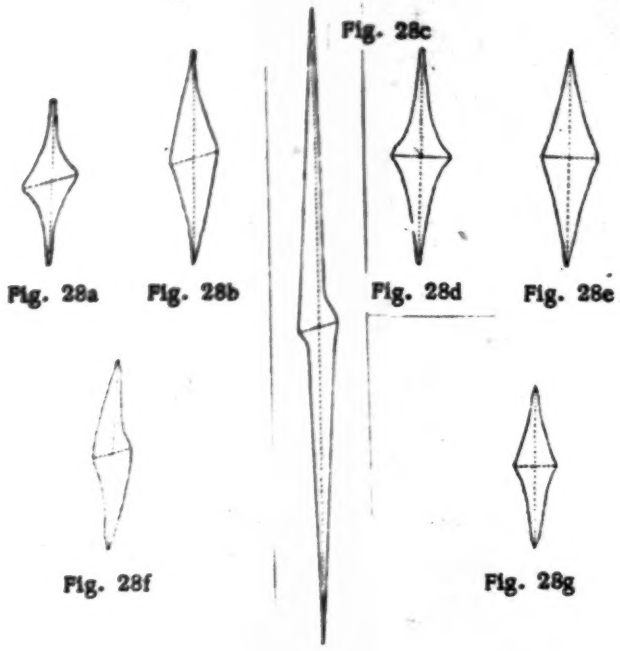

Legend for Fig. 28:
a, b, and c, Masai spears; d and e, Dschagga spears;
f, Masai sword; g, Dschagga sword.

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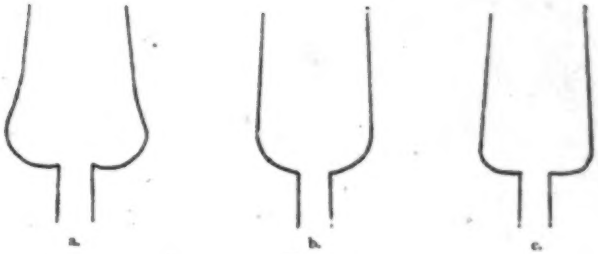

Fig. 29.

among the others usually more spade-shaped (c). The first two shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /130/ was able to determine in several cases, on the express order of Masai warriors. While the spear shoe is circular above and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ol bruggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which notches (Fig. 30) are made as ownership marks of various meanings (1).

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1. They may mean: district, ol boror, tribe or lineage, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

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On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /131/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shoe is grasped in the middle, as one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

/134 cont./

411 [136] [237] flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (en [439] duerai) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather [237] strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648] [729] are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the [177] purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

291 • 179 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood.

[296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to

[515] [147] speak. Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

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Ill. 43. Masai woman with needlework.

293 The only European article that one sees now and then, but still
• 177 always rarely, is the umbrella, which the Masai use as protection against the sun.

281 Rather treated animal skins still today, occupy first place in
[294] the clothing. The preparation of the skins that are not supposed to have the fur removed (warrior capes and leather to sit on) is a primitive chamois dressing. The skins are stretched out and thoroughly dried. Then they are rubbed several times with butter or fat and soundly beaten each time. Swelling the skins is known as little as is removing the superfluous fat clinging to them at the end of the treatment. The finished leather feels greasy and soft.

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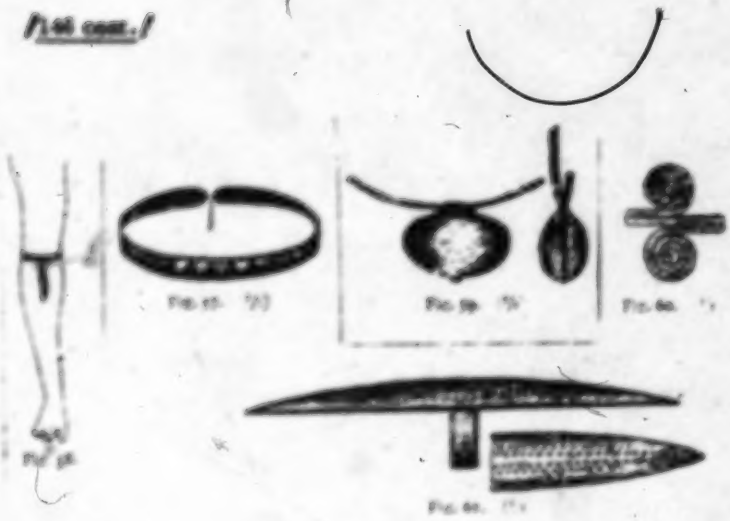

Fig. 60.

Children, as well as young men and women, wear on the fingers as adornment rings (el gimôl, el gîmu) made out of four or five coils of copper wire, the ends of which, on the outside, often form flat spirals (Fig. 60). The first ring is stuck on the middle finger of the right hand, the second one on that of the left, the next ones on any other finger. It is not a rarity for a woman to wear rings on all her [151] fingers, including the thumbs. Mothers stick on the second toe of the right foot of their babies a /147/ simple ring of copper wire as protective magic against illness, if previously one or two of their children have already died at an early age. Now and then one also finds rings made out of sheet iron, on which the outer part of the circle bears shieldlike appendages above and below (Fig. 61). The [177] Masai call them en sagalgar and maintain that they stem from the Wakikuyu. It is certain that they are not made by the Masai.

302 Boys and married men frequently shave their heads so that the hair is scarcely more than an inch long. Women shave their heads even more often, and, to be sure, either entirely or only a strip all [512] around. For shaving /Figs. 62-63 and Ill. 48 appear here/ they use

302 /147 cont./
Axillary hair /148/ and eyebrows are shaved. Women also shave the pubic hair, whereas men pluck it out with the fingers or tweezers.
302 714 Young warriors let the hair grow and, when it has the necessary length, twist it between two fingers, through which apparently arise little balls, which, on closer inspection, prove to be spirals interlaced and rolled together. Somewhat later it is twisted together [386] into strands (ol babet, el babet) with red paint, a mixture of animal fat and red earth, which hang entangled around the head. Furthermore [177] they are lengthened by twisting in fibers of the bark of the baobab (ol mésérí) and of another tree called ol reteti, in order to form out of that the braid-coiffure peculiar to the Masai warriors, but adopted by many neighboring tribes (Fig. 64, 65, 66 [ol daiga, el daigan]). For this the hair is parted crosswise over the head from ear to ear, and then that of the front half of the head is divided into three parts, one over the forehead, the other two at the

Fig. 64.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 57. Masai sheep.

231 [492] [177] /167/ Where the Masai are neighbors of the Somali (in British East Africa), the camel has also found entry among them as a beast of burden. They do not, however, generally share the passion of their neighbors, for whose palate the meat of these animals is a special delicacy. The Masai do not keep chickens, ducks, pigeons, etc. The attachment of the Masai to their cattle, especially to the cows, makes them seem to them like companions and friends. Thus, their habit of giving their animals names, especially considering the extravagance that the people indulge in with proper names, does not seem at all surprising. The /Ill. 58 appears here/ name Sudjaro means that the cow has come from a distance. Rimogeno was captured in the vicinity. Nondoje is a cow given as bride price. Sotoa is one such that was received as a gift from an uncle or aunt. A cow paid as fine is called Njamu. Each of the five cows that the

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232 233 horny scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view. [176] [191] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

[136] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with eng ea el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half [411] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 76) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Grothusen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[177] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

/183 cont./

757 For gonorrhea they use a whole number of medicaments, to some of which they attribute only or chiefly a diuretic effect, to others a healing effect as well. The principal remedies are the following: decoction of the bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica), often mixed with calf urine; furthermore of os sagararam (Bauhinia reticulata), ol debessi (Acacia cfr. verrugia Schwfth.), ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) and ol gelai (?); a root decoction of the latter is also used, as well as of ol orondo (Cissus sesquipedalis Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia Engl.), ol dorotua, and, finally, dococtions of the dried root bark of o'remit (Salvadora persica) and of the wood of a Rhus species (ol mesigie kete), which is regarded especially as a diuretic.

[164] /184/ For cystic catarrh one drinks a weak decoction of the root of o'remit (Salvadora persica).

832 A bark decoction of ol dimigómmi (Pappea capensis) is regarded as an aphrodisiac for men, one made out of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica) for women. The bark of the trees ol giloriti (Acacia abyssinica) and ol okiteni, used as seasoning for meat broth, is [263] supposed to have the opposite effect among the warriors.

These last two remedies, however, are by no means regarded as sedatives, but, on the contrary, as stimulants. The people [147] explain the effect ascribed to them here with the words: the warrior does not like the odor of the girl, by which probably a specific foetor urinae /stink of urine/ more or less clinging to the clothing of all women is to be understood.

Nerve Ailments

757 With headache (eńg ga ol ogunja) a blister is produced on each [164] of the temples and on the nape with the fire twirler (ol biron) rubbed hot; more rarely one ties a cord rather tightly around the forehead and the occiput. The latter remedy is not peculiar to the Masai, [177] but has been adopted in places from other peoples.

[164] For earache (eńg ga ŏń gia) one pours warm butter into the ear.

/186 cont./

276 consciousness returns immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight wounding inflicted on another, the patient's excitement is said to increase further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is noticed in time by the warriors squatting around the patient, a number of them throw themselves upon him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or an hour, less often it lasts somewhat longer. Then a restless sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and flow of saliva, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat weaker attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often somewhat briefer than the first and turns into a spell of weeping gradually becoming quieter, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general exhaustion, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; more rarely it appears as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is no third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was already fettered during the second one, his companions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for excitement -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a liter and more, of liquid fat is poured into the patient, which he usually also gets even in the preceding stage to alleviate the expected attack. The Masai call the attack em boschona, and the one suffering from it ol morani boschinɔti.

As frequent as the severe form of em boschona is -- since every warrior suffers from it several times in the course of his warrior period, and it is rare if one of them remains spared altogether -- the European will nevertheless usually be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack lasts from about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general exhaustion
276 followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the
171 sedentary Negro tribes who live in close contact with the Masai and
• 177

/186 cont./

276 171 [177] have adopted many of their manners and customs the warriors regard becoming stricken with the em boschona as a sign of true, ferocious warriordom, and they frequently simulate it for this reason. Amidst whooping cries the simulator with spear in hand dashes out of the camp and would surely not inflict an injury on anyone, even if -- as in the /187/ cases observed among the Wadschagga -- a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and lead him back.

276 [152] The lack of any control over emotions and inclinations probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of em boschona. Its cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned excitants, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only in a very considerably lesser volume. Their harmfulness can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous irritability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the statements on this point made to me by the Masai agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are stricken with em boschona, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the first period as such, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

276 561

276 158 171 In this description of em boschona one is inevitably reminded of the running amok of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, em boschona is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of em boschona the copious use of those agents only a short time before will be indicated.

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There might be described here a successful operation performed by the aforementioned ol abani: In November, 1901, a boy fractured the right tibia quite close to the knee and, soon after the accident, was carried by his friends to a European settlement several hours away. There they asked the European for his help, but he did not dare undertake the treatment and ordered the people to take the patient to the hospital of the military station of Moschi. Now whether the patient or his bearers did not agree with the plan to embark on a two-day journey is beside the point; in any case, the patient, on the following day, was brought to a rather large livestock-kraal to which the aforementioned surgeon, who, incidentally, lived six hours away, was fetched. He found a large, suppurating wound, out of which the lower end of the tibia projected, the marrow of which was likewise suppurating. The ol abani, proceeding from the wound, now cut open the lower leg on the tibia up to a handbreadth above the ankle and peeled out the lower end of the bone equally far. Then he broke this off about ten centimeters above the lower joint, removed the putrefying marrow from the rest of the tibia, cleaned the wound with warm water and by scraping out the upper part of it, and sewed it up with five thorns. Three months later the boy was already able to walk and to resume his work as herdsman.

Of foreign bodies one finds in wounds arrow points most frequently. Taking them out, is certainly more difficult than to take out other foreign bodies, and it will therefore suffice to discuss the method used for this, since those for the removal of more harmless objects will follow from that. First of all, it leads to an operation, of course, only if -- which is seldom the case -- the arrow is not poisoned or if -- which fortunately often occurs -- the poison has become ineffective through decomposition. Since in battle the torso as a rule is protected by shield and beside the leather cape also often deflects the arrow or at any rate greatly diminishes its force, deeper arrow wounds usually occur occur only on the extremities. If the entire arrow remains stuck in the wound, the operator knows immediately, without a lengthy examination, where the point rests and how it lies. If there are only muscles lying in front of the point in the direction of the shot, he quickly pushes the arrow through and draws out point and tang on the other side, the shaft on the shot-entry side. On the other hand, if bones lie in front of the arrow point, this method is automatically eliminated. Simply pulling out the arrow through the shot-entry

/203 cont./

XXI.

000 Religion. -- Monotheism. -- Religious doctrine. -- Explanation of natural phenomena. -- Prayers. -- Supplication feasts. -- Sacrifices. -- The snakes. -- Evil spirits. -- Sorcery. -- Amulets. -- Evil eye.

177 771 In a comparison of the ethnography of the Masai with that of the peoples neighboring them, living around them, no chasm as deep as in the field of religious outlook appears anywhere. Whereas in almost all the areas of ethnography we otherwise find a more or less strong influencing of the latter by the former -- from more external things, /204/ such as ornaments and weapons, to more deeply incisive social changes, such as, for example, the shaping of warriordom after the Masai model -- the religion of the two shows a sharp separation, which nowhere permits any interplay of the one in the other. In sharp contrast to the anthropolatry, the worship of departed human spirits, and the polydemonism of the Negroes, occurring in all forms and gradations, stands the simple, straightforward monotheism of the Masai.

776 779 Their god is called 'Ng ai and is an incorporeal being, a spirit. The people do not think about his appearance. The making of pictorial or sculptural representations of God would be a sin, according to his commandment given to the Masai. God is the creator of the world, the earth, and all that it harbors. He governs everything through his will. He is the guardian of the natural and moral order of the world. The laws and commandments that are valid in the life of the people and of the individual are expressions of his will. God is almighty, omnipresent, omniscient, benign, infinite, eternal. [771] 'Ng ai najollo = God knows it, 'Ng ai naischa el duhganak, 'n dogitin sidan = God gives human beings the good things, ol bai 'I Eng ai = it is the will of God, are words that one can hear every day, and they are not often used thoughtlessly, for a deep religiosity is peculiar to the Masai generally. God's benevolence forgives human beings a great deal and for a long time. Yet human beings are too weak and sinful, so that God has to punish from time to time for

/206 cont./

776 821 [177] moon as masculine, corresponding to their word formation, eŋg oloŋ and ol aba. That this view is not peculiar to the Masai, but was somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the overworked sun is probably a woman, corresponding to the earthly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the common hut stands in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification [[177]] of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Masai adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Ng ai, the girl Barsâi, brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, Ol gurugur, announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Masai and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming rain. A fireball (bolide) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and 821 787 that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and pox. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemic, rinderpest and tuberculosis.

821 776 The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Ng ai wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Masai call en kilegen, announces rain through particularly bright

/227 cont./

539 the kraal for a short time, the foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and those two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

1. In Hollis, p. 137, the variation: " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Hommel.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and obtained the assistance of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /228/ however, the warriors had made away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

539 • 177 829 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countryman about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are herded there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

/228 cont./

539 177 829 the herd of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

539 Meti ol duŋgani lemet ol ogunj' enje = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Meti ol duŋgani lemet dobir en dog' enje egeniogo = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ol duŋgani tenejo nedim aidobira = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ol air torono, ol ari sidai = A bad year, a good year; in the sense of: sunshine follows rain.

Ol duŋgani amīda éaré t em baie kete = A stupid person is beaten with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

El jeruata kumok me sidan = It is not good to have many friends.

Ol ari sidai kake esodjo ol torono = A good year is followed by a bad one; in the sense of: Pride goeth before a fall.

Ol duŋgani oŋeta 'n dogi eeta el jeruata kumok, ol duŋgani lemeta 'n dogi meta hanja = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

El duŋganak ate minje sidan, enigi jogi njage 'n dogi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Toniño 'ñ gutuke ol duŋgana' bage, kake torbare ol ogunj' enu = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gulla duŋgana' l enjerna mejollo (ol) adjo hanja, gulla duŋgana' l egeñai ninje ejollo (el) adjo sidan = One's own people know nothing, strange people know fine words. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ol duŋgani oschál ojello aiseega duŋgani ogul t ol osseg l enje = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Aŋas enā 'n dogi, bai-dogi en daa = First this matter, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

18: Merker--302 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12
Kwafi
Dorobo FL6
Asa

/229/ Third Part

I.

The Wandorobo of the three branches of the Masai people.

M 184 [177] The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Masai, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the M [128] neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Masai people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, M D 121 it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practice of D [177] the Wandorobo belonging to the Masai people, who, in their timid seclusion, have maintained themselves quite without foreign influence (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Tatoga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Masai people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Masai, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

M D 101 184 We have seen that members of all three branches of the Masai people fall under this name (2).

M D [128]

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandorobo not belonging to the Masai people, who are seen, mixed with Tatoga and Masai, as remnants of an extinct Semite people -- who embraced the sun cult.

D 101 The Asá stem from the oldest epoch, the El aiti from the middle one, and the El gassurek from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandorobo of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

/303 cont./

*121 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered; the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculturalists; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

*121 799 • 199 174 [015] In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /304/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could have been influenced on those points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned those accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

/304 cont./

*121 997 *177 174 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we know, have never exerted any influence on the Masai people does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the aforesaid direction on single individuals who, be some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Masai that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Masai in possession of those accounts such as I found among them? *121 *773 997 177 174 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or Christian dogmatists, none of whom have any tradition older than that of the Hexateuch for those myths, could have disseminated them in the form in which I found them among the Masai, in a form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the sedentation of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Masai from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Masai could not have arrived at those accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Hexateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Masai these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Masai then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be *[171] answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Masai arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahve's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, further of the assumption of only

/304 cont./

*121 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause
*773 for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various
*171 points in the Masai tradition, of source material woven together in
773 the Hexateuch, and finally of many other /305/ passages that will
• 171 be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coin-
174 cidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This also applies in linguistic respects, for the similarity of sounds in the personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names for which the Bible gives no explanation and which the Masai tradition interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical account, such as, for example, the names Naraba and Eramram.

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-age tradition that I found among the Masai and for which the Bible contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving. This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it could have been foreign dogmatists who brought the Masai those myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that Israelitish religious messengers might have made a particular impression on those accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless most improbable that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and would not also have spoken of Jahve's action in later times. Christian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the material in question the most important and only subject of their teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a dissemination the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

*121 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the
*773 presentations of the Masai, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)
*171
174

1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

/347 cont./

182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans, I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

> 2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
• 177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken
[648] away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions
[361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for
182 its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
731 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
72 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
582 diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
178 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
184 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
165 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[186] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[177] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
[144] tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[648] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
[721] itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

/351 cont./

• 177 G48 The existence of the Masai people was based on a sovereign power shattering or destroying the Negro tribes, which, through constant, successful war and raiding expeditions, not only again and again furnished the necessary cattle herds, but also fostered national unity. The European administration interfered here and through that hastened, in the manner described above, the ruin of a people clinging with extreme tenacity to its old habits of life.

000 The process of becoming sedentary, the transition from livestock nomads to stock-raising agriculturalists will presumably slowly continue to take place, but amidst enormous sacrifices in human lives and the destruction of the people's continuance. A small part -- the ones now richest in livestock -- will perhaps go on maintaining themselves as nomads, or -- the poorest -- will, by the detour of agriculture, again become that and, in enforced peacefulness, graze their small herds. But they, too, will then have ceased to be Masai, for a Masai with shepherd's staff and pipe is no longer a Masai. In view of such an outlook for the future, one is almost struck with melancholy when one hears how firmly the Masai believe in a resurrection of their power, according to the prophecies of Mbatyan, who shortly before his death said "Epidemics will destroy the herds, and civil wars between the parties of Lenana and Zendeo will thin the ranks of the warriors. Then a white bird will come from the coast, nest in our land, and bring us to the edge of destruction. But after this time of trial the Masai people will expand to a new flowering and their old power."

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous residents (Great, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

175 177 The people whom the Masai displaced in Tanganyika were mostly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. Those who immediately preceeded the present Masai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, evicted prior residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these water-works were for pasturalism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers in the south who may have provided the Masai with spears and knives.

175 [131] In the study area, the Masai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably 175 698 completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datwa occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1836 and 1851 the Masai drove the Il Datwa off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone walls of the eastern

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

#233 [231] Their[1] livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life revolves around the grazing and water requirements of their livestock.

621 561 614 177 178 Their principal units of social organization, as they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades, villages, and families. Clans have an important place in ethnological discussions and in some areas they determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948). Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand the concept of clans is of more ethnological than ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the effect of the Government administration in Western Masailand.

. . . With the physical and social upheavals in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through about 1920, the establishment of African District Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of the park and conservation unit, and various development projects, the clan and other social units have been greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this effect in some detail for the Masai in the former boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[1] [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

class name, and is allied with the next (or previous) group, the first being the right hand grade and the other being the left hand grade. After several years the junior warriors go through another ceremony and become full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by their hair style and spear.

The hair style involves a complicated plating of the hair with some combination of cords, pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott (1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and variations in style between areas.

The warriors' spear is often over five feet long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an equally long but round and pointed tail, and between them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft. Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes. They now come from England and the first thing a moran does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

Ostrich were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 178 224 561 701 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 593 591 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it. People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

Foods: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

233 372 152 Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural trait. Young herdboys will seek out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched Masai moran striding across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and moran. We had marked plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also burn simply because they get some satisfaction out of it.

182 372 [171] Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are started by Wanderobo honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Masai.

177 372 182 It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using flint or other primitive means. With fires

(82 easier to light more fires are lit, just as in the case
• 177 of hunting tribes who have received firearms; with game
372 easier to kill, more game is killed. Control in these
(184) matters appears to be enforced by availability of tools and difficulty of accomplishment, not by any conservation ethic.

132 We questioned Masai, other Africans, and Europeans about lightning fires and never found the slightest evidence of lightning causing fires in the savanna country. There is no doubt that it ignites some fires in rim-rock or mountain areas, but we never even saw a lightning-struck tree in the study area. All the lightning we observed in storms was high, it occurred in heavy rain storms, or it was low in the region of Lake Victoria.

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232 There does not seem to be any discipline or
824 organization to the burning by the Masai. Fires are
*233 started in dry grass when herds leave an area, but they are also lit when herds arrive in an area, if the grass is dry enough. They are even lit in pauses during rain storms.

The forest country on the hills is also burned at

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Veterinary Services 1918-1962

From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have been very active in Masailand. The visible results of their work involve provision of water supplies, treatment and prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encourage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistants have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya and Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant influence on the ecology of the area. As noted above their work has greatly aided the increase in the numbers of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, and with very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, especially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey and Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained two small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their control without employing destructive game killing or land clearing schemes (Langridge, 1960, 1961). Within Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

The Masai are not now and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

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[177] The exploitation of land by the Masai was a very long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and matches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Masailand, including its wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12

CASE FOR FEATHERS. Tube of cane or bamboo with leather caps. Used by the Masai to hold the white feathers of the ostrich, two of which are placed at the top of the feather face-ruff.

Length, 19¼ inches.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151813

WAR-BONNET (Toriki). Of monkey skin, with a long skirt. (See fig. 4, page [11].)

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151540

WAR-CAP (Toriki). Made of the skin of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*).

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151200

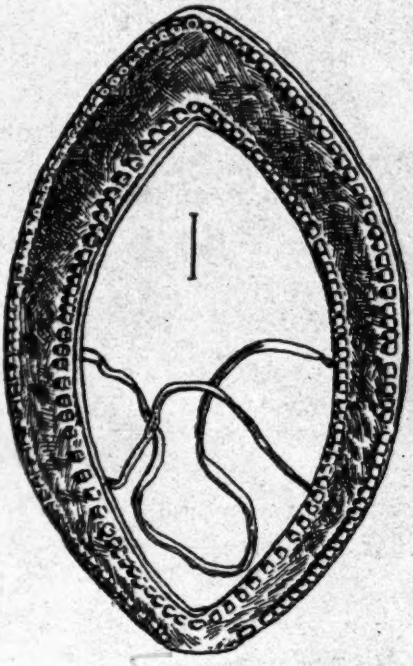

Fig. 12.

FACE RING.

Masai Tribe, Njiri, East Africa.

(Cat. No. 151234, U. S. N. M. Gift of Dr. W. L. Abbott.)

WAR-BONNET (Toriki). A hood made of the long yellow hair of the Guereza monkey (*Colobus caudatus*). It has a short skirt and is beaded on the head-band. The Wa Chaga wear it in imitation of the Masai.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151539

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes.

II

The Tanganyika–Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators.

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats. They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

Some of these acceptees, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
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marked with luminous paint to trace their movements; all over East Africa, people bicycled about the bush with sacks on their backs to attract them and grew to pensionable age catching them in nets, digging their pupae out of the sand, keeping them in test-tubes and cages, even studying micro-organisms which appeared to be their enemies.

Seldom has so much careful, detailed, expert study been given to one kind of insect. Some of the many facts discovered have been used ingeniously. Tsetse flies, for instance, probably mate only once in their lives. A current experiment is to expose a number of pupae to controlled doses of radiation which sterilizes them, and then to release the males so that gradually the fly population will die out.

The expense of bush-clearing is its principal handicap, and the quick regeneration of the bush. By itself, it could never have conquered tsetse fly in Africa. In recent years, chemists have discovered how to synthesize drugs which kill the trypanosomes in the blood, and which will prevent infection. The main drug in use at present, Antrycide pro-salt, will protect cattle for about four months.

No one doubts that, in time, the chemists will improve on this, and cattle-owners like the Masai will be able to take their herds anywhere they please. The battle is not yet wholly won; trypanosomes have already shown a tendency to develop resistance to the drugs, and there will no doubt be disappointments and setbacks. But, by and large, it can only be a matter of time before areas like the Mara are opened to hungry herds from overstocked pastures elsewhere.

Several experiments are under way to discover how things could be managed so as to avoid disaster to the land, and at the same time make a profit for its custodians. One such is the Ol Choro Oirowa ranch which the vets are running on behalf of the District Council at Narok. On some 21,000 acres young beasts were to be fattened and sold at a profit, but profits have been shy because of various setbacks, such as an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia and an army worm invasion. Now it seems that the acreage is too small and the Masai have so far refused to enlarge it. So the vets have not yet succeeded in bringing home to the Masai cattle-owner the basic fact that

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kenya FL1
Masai FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-grass will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]